1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

As a gift to Bernice P. Bishop Museum, the people of Pukapuka generously made a complete collection of objects of material culture, excepting only the few objects which they can no longer make. A day-to-day study of the processes of manufacture was of great value in clearing up many problems of technology.

Whatever success our work achieved, therefore, is due to the enthusiasm and cooperation of our informants, in the first place, and also of the people of Pukapuka as a whole. Our early work was done entirely with the aid of interpreters. Much of Ernest Beaglehole's later formal work was done with interpreters because he did not wish to risk losing material through inability to follow crucial explanations. Informants could speak much Rarotongan but required the use of Pukapukan when discussing language and various concepts of native Pukapukan life. Our interpreters could speak easily only the Rarotongan dialect. Thus a great deal of explanation between informant and interpreters was necessary before the final English version could be presented to us. For this reason and also because many subjects can not be discussed easily through the medium of a third person, Pearl Beaglehole accepted the necessity of doing without interpreters at the earliest possible moment.

CULTURE CONTACT

Pukapuka was discovered by Commodore Byron in 1765. Between that time and the landing of the first native missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1857, the island was probably rarely visited by Europeans, presumably because of its isolation and the poverty of natural resources. Native tradition tells of three European ships which visited Pukapuka during these years. Between 1857 and the visit of the Reverend Wyatt Gill in 1862, most of the people of the island had been converted to Christianity. Peruvian slavers twice visited the atoll about 1863 and removed about 100 men and women, only one of whom, the late high chief, Pilato, returned to Pukapuka. In 1869, Captain English of the barque *R. W. Woods* (6, p. 33) landed in Honolulu 42 natives of Danger Island.[1] The natives were unsatisfactory both as plantation laborers and as domestic servants and some time later 20 of them were sent back to Pukapuka by the schooner *Annie*, Captain Babcock. A man from Atiu named Tione, according to the Pukapukan account of this labor gang, returned with the Hawaiian party and later married a Pukapukan woman named Takele whom he had met in Hawaii.

The island was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892 and included within the boundaries of New Zealand in 1901. The first resident agent visited the island in 1914, and since that year agents have been in residence most of the time. The majority of the people are members of the London Missionary Society church. A Seventh Day Adventist mission was started in 1919, a Roman Catholic mission about 1929. All three missions are

served by native pastors

1. [Puka-puka—analyst]

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One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own talo foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

The heavy work of talo bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private talo beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of talo preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata uoua*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; talo beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the talo than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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on the owner's generosity, but no man who expects to call on friends again can afford to be stingy in his food division. The amount of food in each share is slightly increased for the more laborious types of roof thatching.

The same method of contracting is used today in building the slat walls for a modern house. The space between the uprights is divided into sections (here called *maleva*), and one food share is set aside for those who complete a section (*puipui na maleva*). The food division at which the shares are handed out to the workers is termed *ngaluenga*. That this division may be made immediately the work is completed, the more farsighted arrange for it ahead of time by placing a tapu on their talo and nuts, and by fattening pigs. Others, not so far-seeing, wait until the work is completed before beginning to gather food, and the workers may have to wait patiently for some time before the payment is made. Informants seemed to think that a two-year wait would be the limit. If the owner showed no signs by this time of preparing his food division, it would be legitimate for the workers to make pointed comments about his stinginess. In any case, no man who was at all proud of his reputation in the community could afford to wait as long as two years.

There is no specialization in Pukapukan house building, and not the slightest suggestion of any guild organization. It is for this reason, perhaps, that an average-sized dwelling house takes from seven months to a year to build. The actual labor involved is not great, but the owners must frequently put aside work on the new house in order to engage in other activities. Delay is also caused by the necessity of laying in reserve food supplies to pay the workers in the next stage of construction. It is possible that the time taken to build a house today with iron tools (as also a canoe), is conditioned by the carry-over of temporal patterns from an earlier time when work was done with shell adzes and must of necessity have proceeded slowly. Also a work in hand gives a man a feeling that his time is valuable, and increases his importance in the community as one who has undertaken a work of magnitude and who is theoretically busy at this work when others may be idle.

There is no record in Pukapuka of any rites, tapus, chastities, prayers to the gods, or other ceremonies connected with house building. The completion of a new god house was marked by a feast, but there was no consecration of the house before it was used.

Canoe Building

There is no name for the expert canoe builder other than the general descriptive terms, *tangata mawutu* or *tangata tau uwiva*, applied to any expert craftsman. Expertness in canoe building is associated with families of canoe builders by whom most of the canoes on the island are made.

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431 5714 527 262 613 [572] mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households; when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

[463] Formerly, the group of elders (*tupuia*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *kaikava* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangonga* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*ouonga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

262 252 The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

Fire

372 Fire (*ami*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau iha ami*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kaunati*. The hearth groove is *ihonga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ihaika*, and to make fire thus is *maka ami*.